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855 children whom death has taken away; a woman is ashamed if complaints, however indirect, reach her about her disobedient scamp; and a woman may feel something like jealousy when it seems as though the offspring of another woman are the only ones possessing all the good traits. No one blames the father when, in proud self-content, he measures his sturdy boy and praises many of his qualities to the other men in expectation of great achievements later on.

842 Who could therefore doubt that parents in Tierra del Fuego always want still more children? Even if their number increases from year to year, the parents never tire of additional offspring, who hardly increase their worry and their work perceptibly, yet augment their happiness considerably. A large brood of children does not [855] mean a noticeable burden because the older brothers and sisters like to help take care of their younger brothers and sisters. Many women go through difficult inner struggles when, with the menopause, they are no longer blessed with children. This is all the more the case if they do not have many offspring.

• 847 Nevertheless, voluntary abortion is practiced, but as Fred Lawrence emphatically assured me in August, 1923, only very rarely and secretly by the woman herself. She resorts to it as a means of avoiding imminent disgrace when she has had a secret affair with a lover and does not wish her lawful husband to learn of her transgression. Moreover, there must be certainty that she became pregnant only by the lover, which can almost never be determined under the existing conditions. When I inquired about this for the first time in February, 1920, I obtained the following from my conversation with several men who were gathered around old Alfredo and who agreed with his opinion: "It seems that in rare cases a woman did get rid of her child and it was the child of her lover. She did so because she was afraid of being exposed and reprimanded by her lawful husband." What seemed at that time to be only a supposition on my part became a qualified probability on my fourth journey.

Now, how does a woman go about this unfortunate deed? Before the child under her heart has reached a certain size so that her condition could be recognized, she presses and massages her abdomen vigorously until the embryo dies and she has a miscarriage (115).

115.Hahn (a):805 also mentions this method.

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with an absolutely false exaggeration of its practice: "Induced abortion is very common; it is done by means of violent manipulations upon the woman's abdomen" /translated from French/.

Sometimes she lies down with her belly on a crossbeam or a tree trunk, and while hanging over on both sides, she increases the pressure.

Very rarely (116), it seems, a woman does grow tired of child-

116. Cooper's:171 conclusion that "deliberate abortion is common" is thus grossly exaggerated. He relied on Martial:198, Hahn (a):805, and Hyades (q):376. The latter referred to Bridges, but did not trust his assertion and adds: "Nevertheless, we have not witnessed any act of this kind [abortion and infanticide], and it has always appeared to us that from birth the children are given lavish attention by their parents" /translated from French/.

bearing /700/ and secretly gets rid of the still unripe fruit. She knows that she must do this promptly, for if the embryo were any size at all, her own life would be endangered. She also knows that the customary procedure mentioned above is never harmless. She keeps her deed strictly secret, for it would be severely censured by other women as forbidden. They say: "It is better and nicer to have a family with many children whom the mother can love than that a woman should not let her child be born." In order to avoid this criticism, in case other women have become suspicious, the guilty woman will try to cover it up by saying: "I fell down. -- I stumbled over a stone. -- I hurt myself badly in a fall. And that is why I lost my [premature] child."

Sometimes such a woman, out of fear and shame, will use the same excuses when her husband who has been waiting in vain for the child asks her about it. We must realize, however, as I was repeatedly assured, that in such very rare cases perhaps a spontaneous miscarriage occurred. This was without doubt true of Lola's mother

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847 who died after the third miscarriage, and likewise of Felipe's wife, who complained to me that she had had two premature births. Malicious women unjustifiably reproach these two, saying that they had consciously transgressed. Hence it is certain that wilful abortion, which is undertaken secretly by a woman, is extremely rare. Abortive medicines from the animal and vegetable kingdom are unknown.

255 Love for their own child guides the parents in everything they regard as good and advantageous for it. Many customs and individual child-rearing methods have developed from long experience; they are a safe rule of conduct for the parents in the care and treatment of their darlings. To deviate from them is prohibited by the respect they steadfastly cherish for the ancient tribal heritage handed down by their ancestors.

2. Birth

842 Our Yamana regard giving birth as a natural function, but in their conversation they treat this matter with genteel reserve. The connection between sexual intercourse and conception is sufficiently clear to them. They could not refrain from laughing when we mentioned to them that there were some groups of human beings to whom these facts were apparently not known. If one asks them specifically about the origin of the child, they refer solely to the union of the two /701/ spouses and say that with this sexual union the child begins to form in the mother's belly, that it continues to grow until it has attained the customary size, and that then it becomes an independent being. They limit this explanation to the development of the body. When I asked Calderon about the soul of the child, he did not give me a clear answer, for in general these Fuegians are rather vague about the conception of the human soul. He said: "When the child is born, it has in képi, for, after all, it is alive. But who knows where this comes from!" With Nelly I talked about this repeatedly in Fred Lawrence's presence; I came to the conclusion that the Yamana lack clear ideas about the origin of the soul in the developing child.

843 The Yamana women do not understand the direct connection between the cessation of menstruation and the beginning of pregnancy.

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845 The Yamana say that the reason for the rare cases of premature births is great carelessness on the part of the pregnant woman in running and working or a heavy blow and shock /710/ in falling. We have already mentioned on page 491 when and how voluntary abortion is practiced. A defective baby is immediately destroyed by the mother (133). A crippled child, unfit for life, who is born alive is

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133. The following description by Bridgen (p.21) fits here: "Unnatural births were always destroyed and wisely so. For unimportant defects, or such as proved themselves afterwards as for instance deafness, no one was destroyed but only for enormities" /cited in English/.

not killed, but they consciously devote less attention to caring for him, hoping that he will soon die. Such an unfortunate creature is not directly exposed to danger or hunger, but inconspicuously and purposely neglected.

846 Without exception the Fuegian women who have been confined permit themselves only a short rest, one day at the most (134).

134. Hahn (p.507) confirms that the young mother "resumes her work the same day" /translated from French/. It is well known that the Selk'nam women are also capable of this (Vol. I, 366).

844 They feel no need for it, and furthermore they are told that they should move about and be active as soon as possible. Since giving birth does not cause Indian women any difficulties, it occasionally happens that a woman in an advanced state of pregnancy has her child while at work. For example, she might go into a nearby thicket to gather wood and reappear in her hut after about three hours displaying her newborn baby. Only a few years ago in Puerto Harbertón an Indian woman went into the large woodshed of the farm there. After a good two hours she returned to her family, holding a bundle of wood in one arm and, in the other, the child

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the concern and pleasure of the fathers and mothers in adorning and taking good care of their little ones" /translated from Spanish/. Actually the parents often kiss and caress the baby with pleasure (p. 514).

constantly reminded of the unusual, almost uncontrolled pleasure of several Indian women who occasionally came to Punta Remolino. The Lawrence family there had a Spaniard as a cook, whose young wife one day had her first child. She handled it so awkwardly and clumsily that the Indian women restrained from laughing heartily only because they pitied the child, but among themselves they quite frankly discussed how much better they could handle a newborn baby. Nelly used this as an example to emphasize that in each important matter her countrywomen had incomparably more thorough experience and "the Whites could learn a great deal from Yemane women about how to treat a baby!"

5. Infanticide

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In view of what has been reliably reported about the love for children among the Yemane, it is apparent that there is no place among these people for intentional and frequent infanticide. Not a single European can prove to have been an eye-witness to this act, and Hyades (p):331 denies any intentional infanticide with the following brief sentence: "Infanticide is not customary" /translated from French/. It is only Bridges who made statements on this subject, and a few travelers (158), such as Dabbene (a):63 and

158. Cooper:171 mentions the various citations.

(b):190, repeated his words. As early as 1866 he maintained: "It is very seldom a young infant is killed unless under the following circumstances: Should the mother's husband have deserted her, the child is then often killed by its mother. Also those children that have any great imperfections, or are otherwise much deformed, are sure to be killed very shortly after their birth. Also should a

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- 847 woman bear all daughters, the youngest is /725/ sometimes killed" /cited in English/. These reports originated at a time when Bridges did not yet have sufficient insight into the social conditions of the Yamana. Although he later repeats certain details (159),

159. For instance, he (h):208 and (i):21 merely says: "Deformed babies are destroyed at birth, but only if the deformity is great..." /translated from Spanish/. "Infanticide was rare, and when it occurred was generally the mother's act, on account of being deserted by her husband, or annoyance at the complaint of her neighbors over the child's crying" /cited in English/.

in his last publication (k):240, 1893, he limits himself to the following: "Infanticide was very rare among the natives, although not completely unknown; in such cases the victims were almost never male children" /translated from Spanish/. On occasion Bridges (e):333 calls infanticide one of the many evils which is supposed to have disappeared since the Anglican missionaries have been active in the Cape Horn region.

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626 In view of these vacillating reports, we would be justified in omitting any comment, but in order to prevent any doubt, we shall add a brief correction here. Infanticide has never been a widespread habit among the Yamana. Fred Lawrence and Calderon denied any intentional killing of a child, because of the spiritual disposition of our natives. They did admit what I had discovered from other sources, namely, that a deformed baby was consciously neglected by some mothers so that it would soon die (p. 507), but these mothers never talked about it with other people. In August, 1923, I discussed with Fred the four reasons for infanticide summarized by Cooper:171 from Bridges. He gives "the following cases: Desertion on the part of the husband and father, great deformity in the child, too much annoyance to the clan from the child's crying, too many girl babies" /cited in English/. I shall here reply very briefly to each one of these. If in the case of "desertion on the part of the husband" a woman were to murder her child as well, she would make herself utterly

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626 desolate. Under normal circumstances this cannot possibly be accepted. If an overwrought woman let herself be carried away to such an extent that she would do this, her relatives would immediately call her to account and make her atone for the crime. Secondly: a misshapen monster ("deformity") was immediately and silently destroyed by the midwife or the mother; other people were not told of it, and only the father, perhaps, was given a slight hint. It is almost ridiculous to mention the discomfort of the neighbors caused by the child's crying as the third reason for its murder. Such gross stupidity has never been reported from any other region. Fuegian children cry very little in any case (p. 520). If their crying bothered anyone, he could always build his hut elsewhere. Fourth and finally, neither a father nor a mother who expected a boy would have killed a girl following many sisters, for each child is of untold value to them. This murder would by no means have remained secret and would always have been severely condemned. /726/ Fred Lawrence very emphatically dismissed these four motives for infanticide maintained by Bridges (180), with the exception of a deformed prema-

180. It would be most uncritical to rely on Fennell to prove infanticide, because, as John Lawrence assured me, he passed through that region once in two days without contacting the natives.

ture birth.

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626 It is not to be denied that a deformed or premature child, unfit for life, is done away with, but a rumor that I heard proves how carefully a woman must go about it. Walter's wife had a child in 1905, half of which was a normal human being, but the other half of the body was supposed to have been covered with feathers. When she saw it after delivery, she became frightened, as did the two women who attended her. She decided to kill it immediately and did indeed hit it on the head with a hard object, but the creature went on living. Then she threw it on the ground with great force. Even then, however, it was not dead, so she buried it in the ground and covered it with a layer of stones; it continued to

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• 747 cry from under the ground for some time, but finally it stopped.
 748 Although Walker's wife herself did not divulge any details about
 749 the incident, her attendants on that occasion apparently grieved
 750 about it. Since then she has not been safe from silent, but clearly
 noticeable reproaches from other women who severely condemned
 her action. Only a few of her friends sympathize with her about
 her misfortune. Everything points to the fact that the Yamanas
 never approve of infanticide and severely condemn the malefactor.

6. Child Statistics

163 Through a regrettable error Martial:198 made the statement
 that "one rarely sees families with a large number of children"
 /translated from French/. Other members of the Mission Scientifique
 convincingly contradict him. In reality, Fuegian families com-
 monly have many children. Usually the Indian girl becomes a
 mother as early as her sixteenth year. Accurate counts are im-
 possible because of the resistance of adults who refuse to speak
 about deceased children (161). Bridges (ibid.XVIII, 223,1894)

161. Hyades (p.189 also enumerated this
 difficulty.

repeatedly tried to determine accurately the population of the
 Yamanas, for example, in June, 1894, but he could not find out
 the total number of children in each family.

We have a certain gauge in the observations of Hyades (p.189
 in the region around Orange Bay in 1892, that is to say, at a time
 when the population had already been noticeably influenced by
 the Anglican missionaries. Among eight women from 35 to 60
 years old he counted a total of 18 living children, namely, eleven
 girls and seven boys; among eight women from 25 to 30 years
 old there were again 18 living /727/ children, ten boys and eight
 girls. The sources of error in these data are so obvious that any
 comment is superfluous. Hyades was well aware of them and did not
 fail to point out a 50-year-old Fuegian woman who had given birth
 to 14 children; a 45-year-old woman was the mother of nine, and

- 85 Nearly all work was done for food to mouth relations. There was little concern for the future, and practically none for increasing wealth.

MISCELLANEOUS

- 916 Intimate friends, men or women, on meeting greeted each other with vigorous hugs and with vocalized exclamations of joy. When a guest entered a hut, he was greeted by the fire without manifesting curiosity; only after a while did he begin to talk and give the news, during which time he was not interrupted. Hospitality was generously given, especially to his and friends. The guest did not verbally express his thanks for the food received. If he were from a distant place, his host presented him with some gifts on his departure. A person leaving the hut of a friend said the expression: "I will go."

- 916 On paying a visit it was proper, especially for women and children, to paint the face with a red or white streak or paint up otherwise. A graduate from the Tachan initiation rite on approaching his guest was expected to paint himself or herself, to go without such painting was disrespectful. It was bad form to show too much eagerness in eating; a gluttonous eater was looked down upon. Drinking and over-indulging in the presence of others was not disapproved. Natural needs were attended to at a good distance from the hut.

- 834 When several families came together to camp, the respective were kept more or less to themselves. A man would not enter a hut where a woman was inside alone, and vice versa.

- 834 It was very bad form to summon or address a person, even a child, by his or her own name. In conversation the names of others were not mentioned, respectful descriptive phrases being used instead.

- 834 The Tachan had no expressions corresponding to our curing or profanity.

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The foregoing were some of the more significant rules of Tachan etiquette, details of which are given at length by Guinde (1937, pp. 1006-1012).

WISDOM AND CUSTOMS

- 000 There have been death with signs under Social and Political Life.

LIFE CYCLE

- 842 Childhood and Infancy.—There was clear awareness of the dependence of conception on semen. Desire for children was marked. In some cases abortion—by mechanical, not medical, means—was resorted to by unmarried mothers. A badly deformed or defective newborn infant was allowed to die through neglect. Delivery took place inside the hut, the father going outside and leaving the mother with women assistants. Very shortly after birth, the mother lactated

THE YALGUS

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Among the Yalgus, marriage by capture seems to have been less common than among the Oas. A woman given in marriage by her father against her will was considered the unhappiest husband. In fact the Yalgus showed a tendency to change husbands and wives not infrequently, which we may term progressive polygamy. According to Rev. Thomas Bridges (1884, p. 286) a man might have five or six wives at a time, but the number was not fixed by law.

Infidelity resulted in no fixed form of punishment, but both the offending man and woman were apt to be beaten. Shortly before our arrival a Yalgus man had disappeared. It was rumored that his wife, enraged at his absence, had beaten him with a paddle and accidentally killed him.

Cannibalism

In the old days, to judge by the number of deserted villages or towns in the mission records, the Yalgus did not greatly devote themselves to the care of the children. Abortion seems to have been a common practice, and infanticide we judge was not rare. To reach the facts is somewhat difficult because only explorers did not have sufficient knowledge to describe such practices, and the mission records were not yet so full as those of other tribes.

When the birth had taken place the Yalgus mother tended it for six or eight days, the new-born child was then introduced to the Yalgus. This was a rather terrible ordeal for an infant, for the air temperature of winter and summer ranges from 40° to 110° Fahrenheit, while the air at least could be described as no warmer than the temperature. We have no figures to show what mortality this custom entailed, yet cannot but believe that more than half of the most vigorous and robust infants were thus ruthlessly destroyed.

After delivery, not only the mother but the father as well was expected to rest for a week or more. In this custom we see important results.

Games and Amusements

The Yalgus to pass the time indulged in various simple games and in singing and dancing. Of necessity the young boys devoted much time and time to practice with spear, bow and arrow, sling and stone, but while these exercises often consumed the time of